1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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614 572 The relation of *hitcak'oro* or "friend clan" is thus strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'oro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong, inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together but the death of one on the war-path involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship [504] seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephew (*hiteyege*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relation as that existing between *hidek'* and *hiteyege*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and clan *hitcak'oro*, on the other. In the former there is the bond of blood, real or fictitious; in the latter, only that of mutual service. On the other hand, while the *hidek'-hiteyege* relation, the individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* all may be of different historical origin, they are psychologically the same. The postulation of even a fictitious blood bond between the different individual *hitcak'oro* and the clan *hitcak'oro* is not unheard of. For the *hitcak'oro* relation of individuals this is always possible, for if one individual dies, his *hitcak'oro* is generally adopted to fill his place. On the other hand, the myths seem to indicate that no blood bond was regarded as existing between them, for they generally married each other's sisters.

What historical relation the clan *hitcak'oro* bears to the individual *hitcak'oro* relation, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

THE SPECIFIC POSSESSIONS OF THE CLAN

614 778 Among the Omaha a number of clans have in their possession certain objects around which not merely the clan but also the tribal reverence is centered. Historically, we believe that these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among the Winnebago nothing remotely comparable to these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects possessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

The specific material possessions of the clan consist of certain war bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the possession of the Bear clan. There also exist war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the *waggeregi*, the other among the *manegi* divisions. In connection with the clan bundles there are certain ceremonials known as clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as Winter Feasts. The distribution of the clan bundle differentiates [171] these from the specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as their individual history shows, these bundles are merely

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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seems occasionally to have been extended to three or four clans. Most informants gave these groups in such a manner that the "friendship" relation was not postulated between clans belonging to different divisions; although one individual postulated them just on this basis, i.e., Thunderbird—Bear, Warrior—Wolf, etc. There can, however, be no doubt that the prevalent arrangement is: Thunderbird—Warrior; Eagle—Pigeon; Bear—Wolf; Buffalo—Water-spirit; Elk—Deer; Snake—Fish. Most informants do not claim any pairing for the Snake, while some associate it in a threefold grouping with the Buffalo and Water-spirit. The four clans of the *waŋgeregi* are generally united in a fourfold group of "friend," although some divide them into Thunderbird—Warrior and Eagle—Pigeon.

Under the term "friend clan" is included the idea of mutual service. This becomes especially marked on two occasions; first, when a member of one clan visits his "friend-clan," and second, when an injustice has been done a member of the "friend-clan." On the former occasion every possible privilege is extended to him, even to his occupying the seat and bed of the host. There is no indication of "wife borrowing," however. On the latter occasion, the "friend-clan" will seek to revenge the injustice just as if the wrong had been done one of its own members. The respect shown by one clan to its "friend-clan" is again apparent at the "naming" feast. There he may be called upon to give the dog names for an individual of the clan with which he is associated, and, at times, to lend one of his clan names to the latter.

The relation of "*hitcak'ɔ'ro*" or "friend-clan" is strictly analogous to that which exists between two individuals who are *hitcak'ɔ'ro* to each other. It is one of the characteristic traits of Siouan culture that two individuals often form a strong inextricable friendship. Not only are they always together, but the death of one on the warpath involves that of the other. The same intimate relationship seems to exist between an uncle (*hidek'*) and his nephews (*hitcɣegɛ*). There is, however, one fundamental difference between such relations as that existing between the *hidek'* and *hitcɣegɛ*, the members of the family group, and the members of the same clan, on the one hand, and the in-

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What historical relation the clan *hitcak'ɔ'ro* bears to the individual *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation of individuals, it is impossible to state, but the remarks made before are pertinent here, and no genetic relationship need be postulated.

The "Servant" Relationship.

The *hitcak'ɔ'ro* relation is entirely one between equals, irrespective of the inequality of one member of this grouping, with regard to the other, in social standing. The Bear clan is, for instance, incomparably greater than the Wolf, but this is entirely forgotten here. In addition to this "friendship," there seems to exist a faintly developed "servant" relation. The concept of servant is not that conveyed by the English word. It means essentially that a certain clan performs a service for another without that specific service being reciprocal. Among the Winnebago such a relation exists between the Thunderbird and Buffalo, and the Thunderbird and Elk clans. This is not to be confused with the general subordination of all the other clans to the Thunderbird and Bear clans when these exercise their specific governmental functions. This "servant" relationship between the Thunderbird and Buffalo clans is politically expressed by the fact that a member of the latter visits the chief every morning to receive certain directions from him, which he then announces to the whole village. But this relationship expresses itself in another more striking manner—the

[1] [i.e. - "friendship" relation - ANALYST]